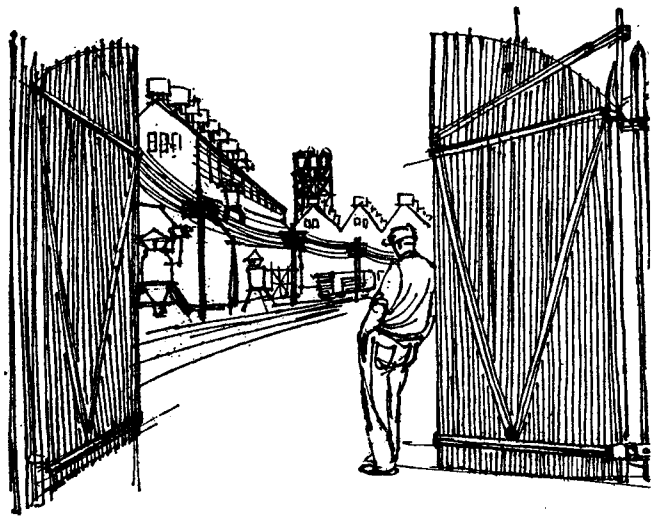
THE FAILURE OF M. PINAY
— Robert Barrat

THE

Commonweal

Socialism in Transition

Michael Harrington



Loneliness in America

James McBride Dabbs

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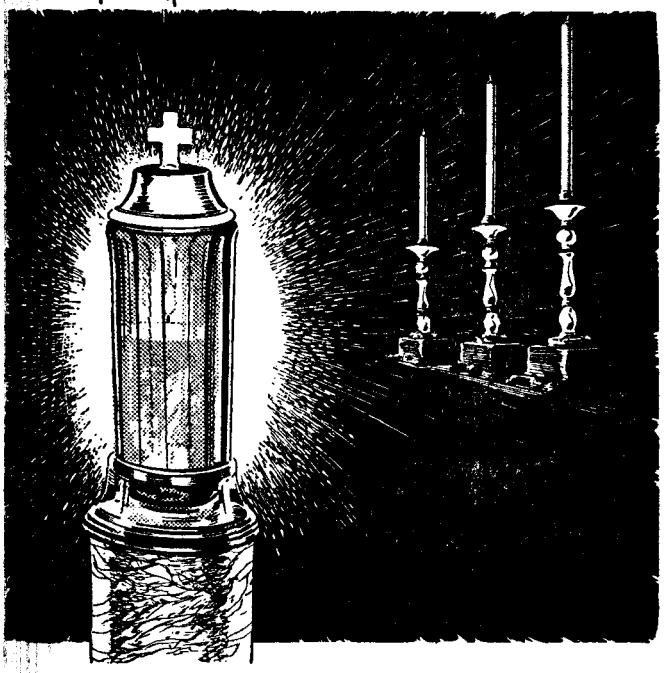

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THE
Commonweal
week by week

HAIL AND FAREWELL

AS this editorial is being written, one distinct era of American political history is drawing to a close. When it appears, another era will have been born. This seems a time, therefore, for the saying of goodbyes and the bidding of welcomes, and so to Harry S. Truman we extend the traditional "Farewell," and to Dwight D. Eisenhower the equally traditional, but nonetheless sincere, "Hail."

Our farewell to Mr. Truman is a grateful one, and it is, we trust, temporary rather than final. For we believe that he has served his office with such high distinction that his absence from public affairs should not be permanent or complete. And our welcome for General Eisenhower is hopeful, but it is tentative too, because the history of his administration has yet to be made. We wish him such success in the next four years that the judgment of the electorate will be triumphantly vindicated, and at least part of our hope for his success is that in the terrible decisions which will surely be his he will find strength to act with that vision and courage which have distinguished the major achievements of the man whose place he now takes.

To write these things is undoubtedly to express a minority opinion. It is fashionable these days to speak of Mr. Truman as the "discredited," the "repudiated" President; and it is the political orthodoxy of the hour to admit small possibility of failure or shortsightedness in the new administration. Thus, in large sections of the American press, it is being hailed a success before it is born, and its history is being judged before it is written.

Such excessive vindictiveness on the one hand, coupled with such unreasonable generosity on the other, seems evidence of a disturbing unbalance in popular judgment, attributable, perhaps, to the passions of the late campaign. For the sake of both justice and prudence, it is to be hoped that neither extreme long prevails. Because for Harry S. Truman to leave office denied his country's gratitude would constitute an historic instance of public injustice, and for Dwight D. Eisenhower to commence his administration surrounded by an excessive optimism and, at the same time, deprived of constructive criticism, would promise ill both for the future of the administration and the health of our free institutions. A restoration of balance is needed.

THE key to such a restoration might lie in this fact: no matter how clean the Eisenhower broom may sweep the undeniable debris accumulated in Washington during the past twenty years, it cannot, nor, probably, would it, destroy the major foundations of domestic and foreign policy laid during these years.

The Eisenhower administration will be, perforce, a "me-too" administration in the direction of its major policies, and its advent will guarantee no speedy exorcism of the evil which haunts the modern world. It will thus, by some standards, "fail," even as its predecessor has "failed," but we hope that the failures which mark its career will be no more final or catastrophic than those which American diplomacy has known under Mr. Truman. We hope, above all else, that the ultimate failure of a third World War will be avoided during the next four years as courageously as it has during the past seven, by the exercise of a diplomacy based on strength, foresightedness, and the vision of collective security.

Harry S. Truman is, of course, an exasperatingly difficult man to categorize. As Arthur Krock recently observed: "Though Mr. Truman is not unique, in politics or elsewhere in human society, for possessing a dual personality in which one is distinctly inferior to the other, possess it he does, and in the fierce light that beats about the Presidency the superior and the inferior are hourly revealed to the world, whereas the same conflict in the personalities of others is visible only to a few." It is this duality which has probably led to many of Mr. Truman's worst difficulties.

But every man has some claim, in charity if not in strict justice, to be judged by his fellows on the

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basis of major achievements rather than minor failures. And of Mr. Truman it may be said that in some minor things he has indeed been lacking, but that in most great things he has been magnificent. Should his political enemies deny this now, he may console himself (if consolation he needs) in the knowledge that history, having little patience with the picayune, will be more generous in its judgment.

It might be well then, as President Eisenhower assumes the awful responsibilities of power, for the nation to remember these things, and, as it is now united in its hopes for the new President's success, to be united also in its gratitude to the man whose policies have kept such hopes possible in these dark years.

POINT FOUR'S POINTS

THE actual figures supply a key to the State Department's aid-to-underdeveloped-lands program, which is up for renewal after two productive years. The numbers are small, the potentialities for human well-being immeasurable. American technicians of various sorts currently serving the program number only twenty-four hundred, and they are scattered all over the world. A similar number of promising native trainees, most of them studying techniques in this country, have been recruited from thirty-four of the underdeveloped countries. The two-year cost of the program has been less than three hundred millions.

Here in the United States we tend to think of our standard of living almost as a reward for virtue and in terms of what once were considered luxuries: cars, refrigerators and oil burners, radio and TV sets, air conditioning. Yet the real disparity between the two cultures is in the very necessities of life. To document this one has only to run through the remarkable series of reports from correspondents in the Point Four countries in the January 12 New York *Times*. So often American advisors have found the needs to be of the most elemental sort.

Before low productivity and industrial backwardness can be overcome directly to the extent necessary, prior needs of the people have to be met. The first steps in many lands consist in establishing elementary sanitation, obliterating malaria and other devastating diseases, reclaiming and irrigating land to forestall malnutrition (if not famine), founding hospitals, instructing in child care, developing hardy strains of basic crops and even shipping in emergency food and medicine. It is the harsh struggle for immediate survival that chiefly distinguishes the daily preoccupation in these countries from the American way of life.

Once a reasonable degree of immediate security is built up—a matter of some years in a land such as India—continuing self-sustenance can be squarely tackled. Many of these countries have big untapped mineral resources; they have natural water power or strategic places where dams would be quite feasible; good systems of roads and other communications will work wonders. The possibilities are unlimited. Much of what has been accomplished thus far by Point Four will take several years to make its real impact. Yet there are already enough tangible accomplishments to have won universal acclaim outside the Soviet orbit. One item the new administration simply cannot afford to slash is the hundred and fifty millions budgeted for Point Four for fiscal year 1953, if well laid foundations are not to be abandoned.

The program has not been without a few mistakes here and there. Of immense benefit all round would be expanded UN efforts. An increase in American and other private investments would be another great boon. Greater activity on the part of private agencies would accentuate the whole constructive effect. And in this connection the opening of the first Latin American Congress on Rural Life (in Manizales, Colombia), sponsored by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference of the U. S. and the Ford Foundation, comes at a most auspicious moment. Few political ventures can be as fruitful for the cause of democracy and human freedom as the worldwide export of American know-how in the disinterested Point Four fashion to the far corners of the earth.

NEXT WEEK

DONAT O'DONNELL writes about the contemporary Irish drama and its reflections of changed times.

"Neither Communist nor Fascist doctrine ever made the slightest dent in Ireland's devotion, not to any vague ideal of democracy, but to real down-to-earth party politics—a devotion unique among countries with a heavy Catholic preponderance. . . . 'The only thing,' said an Irish social thinker the other day 'that saves us from being like the Swiss is that we don't like work.' In terms of art, however, and especially of drama, it is bad to be like the Swiss and it is also bad not to like work. The exhilaration, the tension of approaching struggle, which was present in Synge's day has disappeared and we have in its place the general anxiety about world events, which we have even less power to influence than anybody else."

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REPORT ON McCARTHY

THE report of the Senate subcommittee on elections is in, and it is hard to see how anyone can consider it very satisfactory. The purpose of the subcommittee was to weigh the merits of the charges and counter-charges levelled against each other by the recently defeated Senator Benton of Connecticut and by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. Now Senator McCarthy's admirers claim he has been made the victim of a gigantic smear, and on the other side of the fence, those whose admiration for Senator McCarthy is considerably more tempered are also disappointed by the report.

The subcommittee did not have a very easy time of it. There are good grounds for the belief that investigating McCarthy is rather like playing Russian roulette, and as a result the subcommittee displayed an approach to its subject which can best be described as tentative. On six separate occasions, the members reported, they tried to get Senator McCarthy to testify before them; six times they failed. Nevertheless, with a delicacy rare among investigating committees, the members of this group felt they should not subpoena the Senator to answer questions and proceeded without him.

Even though neither Senator McCarthy nor members of his staff were subpoenaed, the subcommittee did endeavour to trace some of Senator McCarthy's financial operations. It mentioned the $10,000 paid him by Lustron for a pamphlet on housing, at a time when the corporation was almost entirely subsidized by government agencies answerable to the Senate committee of which McCarthy was a member. It reported that the Washington representative of the sugar-hungry Pepsi-Cola Company had in 1947 endorsed a $20,000 note for the Senator, at a time when McCarthy was calling for a relaxation of sugar controls.

Bank deposits for Senator McCarthy amounting to $172,623 over the last four years were cited, and the subcommittee questioned whether inside knowledge, gained from his seat on the Senate Banking & Currency Committee, was responsible for Senator McCarthy's profits on the stock of a company which was in debt to the RFC for $15,000,000. This was a good question, and the subcommittee raised many more in its four-hundred-page report. But answering questions, rather than raising them, was supposed to be the function of the subcommittee. Its claim that the report "speaks for itself" in order to avoid concrete recommendations actually prepared the way for the cries of "smear" which are now going up from Senator McCarthy's followers.

In any case, Senate action on the subcommittee's report is expected to be nil, and the report will probably be swallowed up by the potent Rules Committee, headed by McCarthy's good friend, Jenner of Indiana. But whatever the failures of the subcommittee's report and no matter what the future holds for it, referring to it as a smear job hardly seems accurate. Rather the subcommittee's work appears to supply one more indication that since the defeat of Senators Tydings and Benton there are few men in the Senate willing to challenge Senator McCarthy, right or wrong.

THE WARNING TO STALIN

THOSE sections of President Truman's "State of the Union" message which dealt with the implications of atomic war were of such importance that they could well have been delivered as a special, separate address on some other occasion. For whether the future holds peace or war, President Truman's message to Stalin will stand as an historic document.

"The war of the future," President Truman said, "would be one in which man could extinguish millions of lives at one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past—and destroy the very structure of a civilization that has been slowly and painfully built up through hundreds of generations. . . .

"With that in mind, there is something I would say to Stalin: You claim belief in Lenin's prophecy that one stage in the development of Communist society would be war between your world and ours. But Lenin was a pre-atomic man, who viewed society and history with pre-atomic eyes. Something profound has happened since he wrote. War has changed its shape and dimension. It cannot now be a 'stage' in the development of anything save ruin for your regime and your homeland."

No one can safely predict how Stalin will react to President Truman's message. All can hope that the President's sober analysis of the suicidal character of atomic warfare will succeed in penetrating the walls of the Kremlin. But it should also be noted that Mr. Truman's point deserves thoughtful consideration, not only by Stalin, but by all Americans.

A careful reading of President Truman's warning should help to drive home to legislators and taxpayers alike the inescapable moral: No honorable road to peace should be left unexplored, and no expenditure—whether for national defense, civil readiness, foreign economic aid, or military assistance to our allies—is too great to pay if it holds any hope of preventing World War III. When it comes to atomic war, the only truly prohibitive price will be that of failure to avert it.

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THE THIRD REVOLUTION

MANY Americans had a glimpse of the raw vitality of Japanese history and tradition last year when they saw that extraordinary film, *Rashomon*. They will remember the contradictory stories told by each of the witnesses to a murder, as each justified his own actions. Each had his own reasons, his motives; and only the woodcutter who had seen it all knew the truth. He told the true story in the sheltering ruins of a forest building, and as he related the truth, he heard the cry of a new-born child.

Japan today offers her own contradictory stories of her life. The reports of Western correspondents prove that each man can find his own Japan: militaristic, or cynical, or pliant and democratic, or nihilistic. And each is true, from one viewpoint. Which is the whole truth remains to be seen, because here the story is not yet acted out, and it will be a decade or more before the woodcutter will be able to tell the truth, the history, in the forest that will still remain; among the children who are as eternal as hope.

In April of 1952, at American military installations in Japan, brief ceremonies were held by the American commanders and local Japanese officials. Then, honor guards of American troops and Japanese police ran up their nations' colors, and the rising sun of Japan flew alongside American and United Nations flags.

Since that day, what we Americans can do in Japan has been severely limited. Democracy, which got a respectable foundation under the MacArthur occupation, has been on its own in a nation which has a history of autocracy and militarism—and astounding peaceful revolutions. Whether the Revolution of 1945 will be as profound as those of the "Black Ships" in 1854 and of the Emperor Meiji in 1868, the woodcutter will be able to say.

Paradoxically, the influence which we continue to have in Japan is now contributing to the gravest threat to Japanese democracy. The Japanese rice farmer is told that he is free, that he can vote and determine his nation's policies. But daily he sees the olive drab American Army trucks roar past his home. He goes to the village and he may be shoved into the street by an arrogant twenty-year-old American, too far from the conventions and restrictions of his own country. He reads in the papers of the petty crimes of American servicemen—but until very recently, because of an obtuse U. S. Army policy, he saw no publicity on the trial and punishment of the offending soldiers. So, when he talks politics in the sake-house, the rice farmer asks: "How sovereign *is* Japan?"

The same question is asked throughout the Far East, where not only the Communists question the sincerity of the Japanese-American peace treaty. As long as American troops are stationed in Japan, the politically-touchy people of the Orient are going to be asking "How sovereign?"

Premier Yoshida has been attempting to answer the question in his own way. Last summer his government jailed two British sailors for assault and robbery. In spite of the outraged cries of the British press, the Japanese held the sailors, tried them, and only then politely handed them over to the British authorities. Their point had been made.

Any Japanese premier, however, has this fundamental problem: So long as Japan is militarily weak, it must have the protection of foreign troops. And yet the Japanese public is firmly set against rearmament.

That feeling is part of a profound conviction scarred into Japan by the war; by bombings, atomic devastation, and defeat. The Japanese reaction in 1945 was a revulsion against war which was much more deeply-seated than in the other belligerent countries. The pacifism of the MacArthur constitution met the national mood like a key in a lock. Now that the Soviet threat has made a military establishment necessary, it is not so easy to find that key and unlock the door through which the Japanese again glimpse the smoking ruins of 1945.

At present there is a well-equipped Japanese Defense Force of 110,000 men. They are called "Defense Forces" (and until last October were "police reservists") because of the disarmament provision in the Japanese constitution. No politician was willing to advocate constitutional change on this point during the 1952 elections, but the problem must sooner or later be met, and Yoshida is now gathering his forces for the task. But the fiction remains for the present.

So long as the Chinese are under the Kremlin and the Soviet paratroopers train in Siberia, two hundred miles across the sea from Japanese Hokkaido, Japan must have a defense force. And until the Japanese can take over this task for themselves, the American "security forces" will continue to look too much like "occupation forces" to do the vitality of Japanese democracy any good.

Our long range strategy must be aimed at helping Japan to protect herself—to become sovereign in looks as well as in treaty. We must try to effect this within the framework of an Asiatic alliance, if for no other reason than that only with international commitments and checks will the sensitive new democracies of Asia fully trust and cooperate with a rearmed Japan.

To bring such an alliance into being will call for several times the diplomatic effort that went into NATO. It is essential, if the Far East is to be redeemed.

WILLIAM PFAFF

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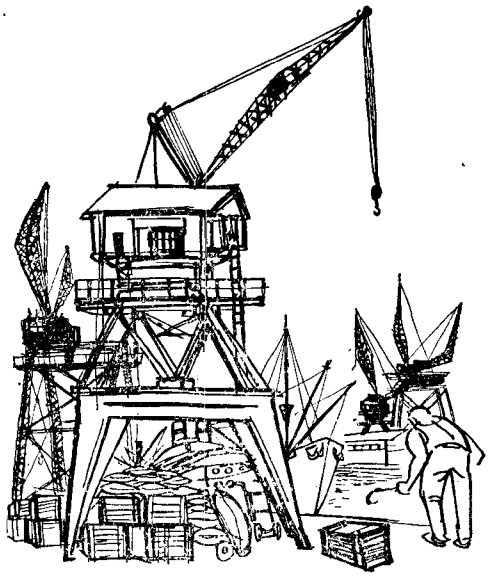
Socialism in Transition

"IF IT IS TRUE THAT AMERICAN CAPITALISM NEVER RECOVERED FROM THE GREAT COLLAPSE OF THE THIRTIES, AMERICA MAY WELL HAVE TO FACE SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP."

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

CERTAINLY none of the delegates to the Socialist Party Convention last Spring believed that their nominees, Darlington Hoopes and Samuel Friedman, would take office in January. But they did believe that the contradictions of capitalism, left basically unsolved in the thirties and postponed from crisis by a permanent war economy, were still with us. And that the form of a political campaign must be used to reach America's political consciousness with this point.



Their platform was not monstrous, as Senator Taft would have it. It did not conform to the popular American idea of socialism as a totalitarian managerialism, nor to many nineteenth century socialist doctrines. Rather, the developments in socialist thought which it incorporated are part of an increasingly important world-wide phenomenon.

State centralization was not proposed as a cure-all—on certain levels it was vigorously opposed. The emphasis was on the decentralization of economic power, the definition of socialism, personalist: "the democratic satisfaction of human needs to liberate the full creativity of the human personality."

In an America which is the last capitalist state to reach maturity, these concepts have no immediate political viability, and their significance is for the future (as was that of the minimum program of the 1912 Socialists—which is now law). But to Catholics, these ideas have a special significance, as an indication of how democratic socialism is now everywhere within the orbit of Catholic thought. The meaning of this development can best be seen by looking at several countries with mass-based socialist parties.

British-inspired socialism (England, Canada, Australia) has always differed from that of the continent. Utopian, decentralist traditions mixed with the Marxist: Owenite, Methodist, Christian Socialist, Guild Socialist. There was a direct action wing to the Chartist movement, and even Syndicalism enjoyed a brief popularity with the British working class, although this was largely dissipated in the abortive General Strike of 1926.

After the actual experience of attempted social ownership under the Labor government, insistence on worker's control and decentralization of economic power became more marked. If the original Fabian Essays were reformist in the democratic means advocated, they were apocalyptic in the end envisioned, and somewhat naively so. But now R. H. S. Crossman, editor of the *New Fabian Essays,* can frankly recognize that "managerial society" is the chief enemy of human freedom today. He writes, "The main task of socialism today is to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of *either* the industrialist *or* a state bureaucracy —in brief, to distribute responsibility and to enlarge freedom of choice."

Actual suggestions have taken two main forms: a semi-syndicalism of industrial self-government by the workers; the establishment of consultative machinery involving workers in policy decisions. The syndicalist approach has little hope in the present, although it may well exert considerable influence in the future.

At the very heart of the problem which these suggestions attack is a fundamental fact. G. D. H. Cole describes it, " . . . a good many of the vital problems of management-worker relations arise out of the very nature of the productive system." Historically, this has meant the hostility of worker and manager—and now that the manager is theoretically the agent of the worker, a new consciousness must arise. It is the creation of this consciousness which is basic to all suggestions on social ownership. Without it, as Crossman has noted, the alternative is bureaucratic tyranny.

Michael Harrington was until recently associated with the Catholic Worker movement in New York.

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HOW does this affect the re-thinking going on in Great Britain? How does it specially involve the Catholic?

It affects the attitude of the worker, the union and the consumer in Great Britain. Thus, Cole, long famed as a Guild Socialist (similar to syndicalism) today advocates the consultative machinery plan. He rejects out-and-out worker control *now* because "If the controlling Board were composed of representatives of the men affected . . . it would be altogether too much to hope that such a Board would do what needs to be done" (when that action was against their immediate interest, but for the long-range good of the economy).

Cole conceives of an intensification of consultation (whereby "nothing should be done to affect a man's life without telling him in advance and giving him an opportunity to propose an alternate plan") as a necessary step toward full worker-control, which remains the ultimate goal. Often this discussion resembles that of the "communication sociologists" in the United States, who propose better communication between worker and management as a solution to industrial problems. But it differs significantly in that "dynamic consultation" is proposed within the context of a socialist economy.

Consultative committees are planned on every level, from the pit to a supervisory committee on a par with the administration board. Some critics, like Ian Mikardo, have said, however, that such schemes fail precisely because they involve consultation only and not control.

This problem of communication is most acute where the unions are concerned. Organized as militant, class-conscious organs of the worker, their traditions—and the entrenched interests of some of their leaders—do not conform too easily to schemes of consultation and collaboration. In the past the position of trade unionists who became government members involved the difficulty of dual loyalty—to the common good and to the fellow workers in the unionist's own group. Yet some of these men fear the solution offered even more than the existing problem—because such a committee in the shop might turn the worker's loyalty away from the union.

The consumer represents still another facet of the same problem. If the Labor Party is a class instrument, representing the worker *qua* worker, who represents the consumer *qua* consumer? In fact, the Labor Party has not exercised its governmental power strictly as a class instrument, but then neither has the consumer found his voice. Ernest Davies proposes a greater emphasis on Consumer Councils as an answer. These bodies are appointive, the membership being drawn from various organized groups. Yet they pose the same problem of lethargy, lack of consciousness, and the like.

Thus, in almost every aspect of the problem—men, union, consumer—the Labor Party faces the difficulty of achieving active participation. Decentralization, based on consultation or control by worker and consumer, requires a high degree of integration and identification, of communalism. Yet the capitalist past, with its emphasis on the antagonistic interest as the mainspring of society, has created attitudes and habits of behavior which block the achievement of this goal.

And this especially involves the Catholic.

The Papal social teachings are based on the notion of respecting functional differences in an industry (i.e. between worker, technician, planner) and yet attempting to unite the disparate elements in production for the common good. And in many ways the Labor Party is making a bold, creative assault on the problem.

The majority of Catholics in Great Britain vote Socialist. Of twenty-two Catholics in Parliament during the Labor government, fifteen were Socialist, one a cabinet minister. Today, many Catholics are emphasizing the common interest of Catholic and Socialist theory and practice with regard to this problem. Sometimes the Catholics seem to be offering a new doctrinaire approach for the old, but often they understand the real connection between the two currents as they now exist.

The outcome of this British experiment is of concern to Catholics, not only in England, but all over the world, for it is one of the first attempts at wide-scale modification of the wage contract in the direction suggested by *Quadragesimo Anno*. There may well be more to gain from a closer study of the realities faced in England than from continuing abstruse theoretical argument.

THE same holds true for Germany. Here Catholics have played an even more important role in the development of social democratic ideas. The issue is co-determination—whereby the workers are legally declared half-owners of the factory and are represented on all management boards.

Article 165 of the Weimar Constitution gave workers "equal rights in common with management" on certain issues. But revolutionary unrest until 1923, the internecine struggles of the German working class, and finally the rise of Hitler, blocked effective implementation. It remained for Allied occupation authorities to promulgate Law 22, a vague co-determination statute, on April 10, 1946. Several attempts to put it into practice were halted by the military governers (as a result of American intervention and a deal with Socialist Britain?) and it was not until the West German Bonn Government took office that major steps were taken.

Catholics became crucially involved in 1949. In September of that year, the 73rd Catholic Social Conference, meeting at Bochum, Westphalia, issued a statement on the *inherent right* of the worker to co-determination. The Pope later said that it was not a question of right—but the apparent difference is more between a strict and loose construction of the word "right" than

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anything else. To deny that an "inherent right" exists is not to say that co-determination is wrong. And although the opposition seized on the Pope's statement to fight the entire plan, Cardinal Frings remained an ardent advocate of co-determination.

There is, however, some friction between the German Socialists and the Catholics. The issue is the familiar one of trade union influence. The Social Democrats (SPD) are closely allied with the DGB (German Federation of Labor), and wanted some of the worker representation to be appointed from above. The Catholics, chiefly through the Catholic Workers Bund, have insisted that a representative come from the actual factory for which he speaks.

On the other hand, some of the most influential Catholics have worked within the Socialist Party and DGB for co-determination. Gathered around Walter Dirks at the *Frankfurter Hefte,* these Catholics are credited in a recent article with writing the first draft of the original statute. The cooperation of Catholics in the socialist movement is extremely important since the Christian Democrats tend to support co-determination in principle and to water it down in practice. And like worker-control in Great Britain, co-determination involves the whole trend of Catholic social thought. Von Nell Bruening, one of the most authoritative papal interpreters, has favored the idea.

THERE are other examples of what is happening in the democratic socialist movement—the Canadian CCF, Australia, Sweden—but the point seems clear enough: not only is there no contradiction between these developments and Catholicism, but, positively, Catholics must take notice of and participate in them. Thus the Bishops of India explicitly approved Catholic support of the Socialist Party there—a Gandhi-ite decentralist party whose recent amalgamation with the Peasants Party makes it seventeen million strong.

If it is true that American capitalism never recovered from the great collapse of the thirties—and even conservative economists are concerned over a curtailment of war production expected around 1955—America may well have to face some of these problems of public ownership. The theory that America alone can have a "progressive capitalism" looks good after twelve years of war, hot and cold. But what of the future?

Shall we continue a "reform" of capitalism, a Keynesian attempt to reinvigorate private enterprise? The socialists point out that control of private industry involves the creation of innumerable bureaus, the centralization of regulative authority, the possibility of managerialism. But social ownership, along the lines of English, German, and Indian socialism, proposes as a practical, actual solution a positive step in the direction of the distribution of economic power.

One point is of critical importance as far as Catholics are concerned. Ever since Leo XIII condemned "socialism" there has been a tendency on the part of Catholics to take a naive semantic approach and lump all socialist parties under that condemnation. This holds true particularly in America. But read the description of the socialism which is condemned: it has nothing to do with democratic socialism and much to do with Stalinism. (Such a distinction was made in *Osservatore Romano* in 1947.)

Negatively, the point is this: Catholics should not cut themselves off from the experience of democratic socialism because of a confusion of terms.

But positively, even more can be said. If there has been one theme in papal pronouncements on the social order that has been absolutely consistent, it is that of the danger of economic concentration and the necessity of decentralization of ownership. R. H. S. Crossman's statement of the problem ("to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of *either* the industrialist *or* a state bureaucracy—in brief, to distribute responsibility and to enlarge freedom of choice") could be made by any Catholic sociologist.

Thousands of Catholics are members of the socialist parties in England, Australia, and Canada. Influential Catholics work within the German Social-Democracy. As long ago as the 1890's (immediately after *Rerum Novarum*) an Australian Bishop distinguished the socialism condemned and democratic socialism.

In short, we cannot afford to ignore this body of experiment, especially since the goals of democratic socialism often accord with those of Catholic social thought. All of us must ask ourselves: will there be a day in the United States when new forms of social ownership will not only be desirable, but necessary? And have not democratic socialists a contribution to make to this problem which is very important? Shouldn't Catholics join with them, in organization, or in discussion, wherever possible?

TWO APPEALS

Father Peter Tonello, S. D. B., Catholic Mission, Cherrapunji P. O., Assam, India, writes that he finds it necessary to deprive the orphans in his care in order to succor the starving Christians of his locality. Some of them have been compelled to mortgage their small properties to obtain a few ounces of rice. Father Tonello needs some hundred and twenty dollars a month to feed his orphans and distribute multivitamin tablets among the poor of the neighborhood. Donations may be sent to Rev. Peter Tonello, S. D. B., c/o Bank of America, 660 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 54, Calif.

The Sister Superior of Mary Immaculate Orphanage, North Arcot, South India, appeals for funds for the neglected and undernourished children in her charge. She also asks for magazines and newspapers.

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FROM FRANCE

The Failure of M. Pinay

THE psychology of crowds is indeed a curious thing. French political circles never quite took M. Pinay and his program seriously. Yet his popularity was unmistakable. A Pinay myth developed from the day of his rise to power nine months ago: an upright man, a brave leader, a savior of the franc—if not of the nation. For a while it seemed as if the Mr. Smith who went to Washington was now to be found in the French Senate. It was with astonishment, if not consternation, that we saw in our daily papers that M. Pinay had stepped down.

Of course the bourgeois press, conformist and loyal to the government (and this applies to three-quarters of the French papers), never stopped singing his praises. But there were other reasons for the almost spontaneous sympathy which this "new man" aroused in all classes of society.

He actually was a *homo novus* to begin with. He was an obscure figure from the provinces, vaguely a minister of something or other in the previous government—a technical minister. Nothing was known of him when we heard that President Auriol had raised him to the dignity of first minister. The very circumstances of his notification made a favorable impression, showing how far he was from the intrigues of the Palais Bourbon. While they looked for him in Paris, he was sleeping the sleep of the just on a train carrying him to his local constituents in St. Chamond.

It was discovered at the same time that M. Pinay had gradually and quietly worked up from municipal counselor to mayor of his native city and then to membership in the Chamber of Deputies. His fellow-citizens had picked him for these responsible posts strictly on merit; that marked a change from the political adventurers whom the party leaders had put across to represent provincial cities in which they have never before set foot.

M. Pinay also made a good impression because of his success with his own hides and leather business. Who could be better fitted to administer the affairs of the French nation than a man who had done so well with his own personal enterprise? Moreover he came from a parliamentary group of independents, and it was a relief for once to get away from the tutelage of the monolithic parties.

His first statements were reassuring: "to economize, contract for no expenses in excess of income, reduce the cost of living, defend the national currency, throttle inflation. . . ." Who would not welcome such a program?

IT must be admitted that M. Pinay did everything he could to keep his word. Within a few weeks after taking office he obtained, without the use of force, a five per cent reduction in the prices of many consumers goods and certain elements of production. His adversaries claimed that this drop was seasonal and would have occurred if his predecessor had remained in office. But half the battle in being a great leader is to be on hand at the right moment.

Today no one would dream of contesting the positive results of Pinay's regime. By the end of the year the franc was again stable; four hundred and eighty-five to the dollar in March, it had risen to three ninety-nine in October. Inflation had been halted. The general wholesale price index fell from 152 to 140.5 between February and October, while the retail price index also fell four points. Despite a few scattered instances of joblessness, in general there was full employment.

"All that is so much dust in the eye, and if M. Pinay quits tomorrow it is because he has been incapable of attacking the essential problems and wants to leave the bill for his successor to pay." That is the way his political adversaries talked about him. Unhappily there is something in what they said.

M. Pinay experienced his first setback last June when he attempted to float the famous loan of five per cent based on gold. All sectors of the middle classes, patriots, industrialists and business men, who seemed so overjoyed by the announcement of the Pinay policy, simply let him down when it came to disgorging any of their own precious pennies. Everyone knows that there is enough gold in the peasant's woolen sock and the capitalist's strong box in France to finance national reconstruction and industrial modernization.

But M. Pinay was able to bring out only the very first advance units of that gold, even though he had offered those guilty of fraud an amnesty on taxes. The banks and the Institute of issue were the ones who subscribed nearly three quarters of the loan. The State bought back with its left hand what it had sold with its right.

No one denies that Pinay came more and more to seem like a prisoner of self-seeking and shortsighted business circles. Stories that I will not relate here went the rounds in Paris on the strange forbearance this upright man showed toward certain friends of the industrial and financial worlds. Under his regime employers got the revenge on the workers which they had been after for several years: certain individuals solely

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bent on profit whittled away at the social gains painfully achieved by the workers at the time of the liberation. It is important to remember that the occasion for Pinay's fall was precisely his refusal to divide up among those eligible the surplus funds of the Family Allotments system and his desire to reduce management's contribution to such funds.

His obstinacy about contracting for expenditures which were not covered by expected revenues ran the risk of backfiring on him in the very immediate future. A reduction in investments had considerably slowed up the economic life of the nation. At the very time that the nation's productive forces declined, military expenditures were sharply on the rise.

A French saying has it that "when building gets moving, everything moves." Yet it became known in parliament that Western Germany had built more in 1952 alone than France had built since 1945. On all sides factories closed and dams and other public works were abandoned because the government was curtailing its credits. The whole economic future of the nation was about to be sacrificed on the pretext of budgetary orthodoxy. The first signs of an economic crisis were to be observed: lower receipts on the French state railways, lay-offs by the auto factories, less consumption of electricity and reduction in the orders for metals, machine tools and most sectors of industry.

Pinay

Once again we saw the spectacle so common in our liberal and capitalistic societies in the West. Immense unsatisfied needs coexist with shorter working hours, business recession and lower purchasing power. The last named is still below what it was in 1939, although production is over forty per cent above the pre-war figure.

THE Pinay economic policy was that of all governments of the Right: reduce investments on the pretext that they are excessive and seek deflation. A policy that was truly social would instead have sought to vivify the economy by stimulating greater use of goods and services, increasing purchasing power and relaxing restrictions on credit. So that even from the technical point of view the Pinay record was not above criticism.

But his critics are harsh as to the other aspects of his government's record. With the best of intentions M. Pinay was solely preoccupied with economic policy. On problems for which he felt no particular competence he virtually gave a free hand to his collaborators.

The policy of the Minister of Interior, a Radical, was about as illiberal as can be imagined. I do not refer to the grotesque arrests of Communist leaders Jacques Duclos and Alain le Leap for "plotting against the State." Either such a plot has existed since the birth of the Communist Party or they take us to be fools. But we have had our "witch hunts," too—they began with government functionaries and went on to the nation's teachers. It became necessary to make a profession of faith on political orthodoxy (they did not know quite how to define it) in order to make a living. Under the Pinay government France, the renowned land of refuge for the persecuted, sent to Greece or Viet-Nam men who were simply suspected of Communism. Have we any longer the right to reproach the Russians for having turned Germans over to the Nazis?

There were odious events in North Africa. The Minister of Foreign Affairs—to the extent that he is responsible for colonial rule in Africa and the Levant —and the whole cabinet allowed themselves to be carried away by excited French colonials who were ready to put all Africa to fire and the sword rather than yield an inch of their economic and political advantages. The police state we have set up in Morocco and Tunisia is appalling. I have evidence of things that happened at Casablanca which my patriotic feelings do not permit me to tell in the pages of a foreign periodical. No head of a government worthy of his high calling would shield with his authority so much that is cynical, mingled with what is vile.

There is the endless war in Indochina which none of our leaders seem to believe is possible to terminate, although it drains our blood and our treasure and prevents our returning materially and politically to our position in Europe. And it is hardly worth reciting the long list of foreign-policy matters in which the Pinay government has been totally lacking in imagination. It is more important to analyze our present situation and our immediate prospects. Cutting things up is not enough; we must sew them together again.

MAURICE Duverger has written in *Le Monde* that if statesmen sought to defend the national currency and promote a more social policy by encouraging private investment and greater consumption all round—at one and the same time—they might find a majority in the Chamber bold enough to support the measures that such a policy necessarily implies: fiscal reform and peace in Indochina. For the heart of our difficulties, we can never get away from it, is the war in Indochina.

Out there in the Far East we have armed forces from which we could easily organize ten elite divisions in Europe. To end the war in Indochina would virtually put a quietus on the menace of German rearmament.

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It would save at least five or six hundred billion francs every year—in other words enable us to do without the sort of American aid we have had from the Marshall Plan.

That is the line of reasoning a lot of sensible people are coming to take more and more in France—even some members of the French parliament. It is quite possible that one day common sense will finally prevail and that we will take it into account that we have in North Africa and our geographical position in Europe the trump cards which spell the strength of a great nation.

For seven years France has not had men who were able to utilize these cards. Either we find them soon or we shall head straight toward a perilous situation which will make North Africa another Indochina and will bring us in France to the threshold of a revolution.

I wonder if the new American government will be able to help us counteract our evil counselors.

ROBERT BARRAT.

OF NOTE

FEAR AND FREEDOM

DISTURBED by what he sees as an increasing reluctance among teachers to involve themselves in "controversial" activities, Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College in New York City, recently addressed the following letter to his faculty:

Members of the Faculty
Hunter College
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Certain recent happenings which have resulted from inquiries into subversive activities by Government agencies may well give rise to quite unwarranted fears, and therewith to curtailment of educational activities which must be encouraged if public opinion in the United States is to remain vigorous and forthright. I have some reason to believe that these anxieties are not absent from the campus of Hunter College. This letter is an attempt to clarify the situation.

The character of the Communist Party has led to the passage of legislation designed to curtail its potential influence. Hunter College and its sister institutions are affected in particular by the City Charter, Section 903 of which has been held by the courts to mean that failure to answer questions about membership in the Communist Party when those questions are put by a duly constituted investigative body automatically leads to dismissal from employment by the City. All this has been very well known for some time. The Board of Higher Education could not, even if it desired to do so, disregard this mandate.

There are, however, no laws and no rulings by the Board which constitute any sort of limitation on the non-Communist civic and intellectual interests of the Faculty, with this exception: attacks on the race or religion of any student are forbidden. This does not mean that a chance remark or an expression of opinion on a controversial subject will be made an issue. Your College administration will defend to the uttermost any member of the staff from suspicion or retaliation except in those instances in which a chronic seizure of vocal prejudice is indicated.

In every other respect the Faculty should not only feel entirely free to act as responsible citizens but, indeed, must be convinced that such conduct is indispensable. When I hear that younger members of the staff, particularly those without tenure, are warned not to act as faculty advisers to student clubs having a political character, I am deeply shocked. No victory the Communist Party could possibly win in this country would be more decisive than would be success in depriving younger instructors of an opportunity to give the leadership which only they can provide. After one has reached a certain age, one acquires for students a manifest august dignity which usually consorts poorly with what they look upon as club life. We must therefore rely on our less venerable colleagues for assistance in this vitally important matter.

Far from gazing upon willingness to share in student enthusiasms and even in student mistakes as an indication of brashness, I am hereby insisting to all Chairmen and Administrative Officers of the College that they look with special benevolence on those members of the staff who do not succumb to current fears but who roll up their sleeves and go to work. Suppose the situation does involve certain dangers. If we can ask a Marine to go up a Korean hill with a grenade in each hand, we can surely expect an instructor in Hunter College not to tremble for the safety of his wife and children if he sits down of an evening and listens to students discuss General Eisenhower or the size of the New York City welfare budget.

I came to Hunter College in 1939. Since then I have sometimes been troubled and occasionally annoyed. But nothing that has been said about the College in all these years is more disturbing than are the reports alluded to above. I shall hope they are not true. And I shall look forward to receiving evidence to that effect.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER,
President.

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COMMUNICATIONS

"SHADOWS OF TOMORROW"

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In the January 2nd issue of The Commonweal, Father H. A. Reinhold presented a most pessimistic picture of Germany. With due respect to Father Reinhold, and with awareness of the shock which he suffered upon his "homecoming" to the country he left seventeen years ago, it is nevertheless important that his observations be examined in the light of that length of absence. Today Germany is the one country in the world which is both geographically and politically on the border-line between Western freedom and Eastern slavery. To limit reporting on Germany to reiterations of vengeance for the past and cries of fear for the future can only dishearten the great majority of Germans who are trying to rebuild their country so that it may take its place with the free countries of the West.

In the past four years, I have made four trips to Germany, each one lasting from four to ten months. In the beginning, I came as an American Army nurse, and as an American Jew. I was aware that if I were to learn anything about the country which should have been a kind of double enemy to me, I would have to put aside all preconceptions and attempt to be as objective as possible.

I agree with Father Reinhold when he states that tourists or official visitors will not see the truth unless they travel on their own. But although he states that polite inhibitions disappear with one who was born and spent the greater part of his life in Germany, I am afraid that he has not considered that perhaps those who remained in Germany reserve for visitors, who are old and trusted friends, all the fear, the nihilism and the pessimism pent up within most people everywhere in the world today.

Fortunately, my first acquaintances were young women who were students at the University of Munich and residents in the Convent of the Sacred Heart of that city. For the most part these young women were Catholics, and I accepted them unquestioningly as having been anti-Nazis. From them, their families, and the "upper-class" acquaintances I met through them, I was able to form in my mind, and in my heart, a concrete basis of faith in "good Germans."

My intense interest in all phases of German life brought me into contact with actors, actresses, writers and musicians, not only in Munich, but all over West Germany and Berlin as well. Also, through my work with Inge Scholl, sister of two students who were killed by the Gestapo in 1943 at the University of Munich, I enlarged my acquaintanceship to include students, professors, journalists and the anti-Communist groups of Berlin. Further work brought me into close contact with publishers, members of the Federal Government and leaders of the CDU and the SPD.

Several of these acquaintances have become close friends. When we speak, whether it is of politics, the cost of living, or of the influence on German universities of the expanded middle-class of Germany, we speak from our hearts.

I, too, have heard discouraged Germans speak. I have also heard Germans with faith and strength and courage; people determined to help rebuild a nation which will be found acceptable in the eyes of God and in the skeptical hearts of peoples of other countries. Inge Scholl, her family decimated by the brutalities of the Nazis, chose to remain in Germany to dedicate her life to the education of Germans in a democratic and Christian manner; in a manner that will enable them to recognize and refute totalitarianism whether it be neo-Nazism or Communism. Emmi Bonhoeffer, her husband and brother-in-law murdered by the Gestapo for their part in the plot against Hitler on the 20th of July, 1944, has built up a method of aiding thousands of refugees throughout West Germany in a manner which enables them to retain their self-respect and incentive. In Hamburg, I met a young man whose father suffered in a concentration camp because he was a Socialist. This young man, too, is a Socialist, but one who sees clearly the necessity for ratification of the treaties and armed union with the West to withstand the threat of slavery from the East. In his opinion the majority of the Hamburg SPD members do not completely agree with the radical demands and threats voiced by the late Dr. Schumacher.

"We realize that we must join with the West both economically and militarily, if we are not to be completely conquered and finish our lives as slave laborers in the Soviet Union. There is a faction in the SPD of older members who believe that Germany is held guilty in the eyes of the rest of the world for both world wars, and this is only right. But this faction is wrong in fearing that if we follow Dr. Adenauer's policy, we will once again be called militarists and once again be blamed as the threat to the peace of the world. It will take time and cooperation from other nations to convince them that they are wrong, or to replace them with Socialists who are more realistic."

Father Reinhold further states that most Germans despise all the occupying powers, especially the French. It is true that seven years of being an occupied country have not been conducive to widespread and unbounded love for the nations who conquered Germany. On the other hand, is it conceivable that the political maneuvering, hesitations and lack of co-operation from the French, with the exception of Dr. Schuman, are calculated to encourage Franco-German amity even among the most idealistic Germans? . . .

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AND so the picture of Germany and the Allies cannot be said to be completely bleak. In the French and American and British zones of Germany there are innumerable heartwarming and inspiring examples of cooperation and understanding between the Germans and the occupiers. Wherever one of the three powers has given evidence of understanding, of faith, of cooperation, the Germans have responded wholeheartedly. Even the American-sponsored daily newspaper, the *Neue Zeitung,* sells tens of thousands of copies every day all over West Germany. Whereas it has been admittedly most difficult to force our concepts of democracy on Germany, individuals and organizations there, have, on their own initiative, given great evidence of interest in our methods in innumerable professions, trades and organizations. The Exchange Program has been a great success in that Germans who have had the opportunity to travel to America and France and Great Britain, have returned to Germany with new ideas, and in most cases have succeeded in implementing new methods arising out of these ideas.

Father Reinhold questions the aims and methods of Dr. Adenauer and predicts that Germany will not join the Western defense unless it leads it. Yet, as Christopher Emmet stated in a letter to the New York *Times* on Sunday, November 16, 1952 ". . . for Dr. Adenauer, like M. Schuman, has staked his political life on Franco-German cooperation. He has secured ratification of the Schuman plan and is fighting to obtain ratification of the European Army plan, originally proposed by France. He has accepted the continued limitations on German sovereignty involved in the new contractual agreements. He is backing America's NATO policy. . . . Dr. Adenauer's purpose in this, as in other aspects of his foreign policy, is to clear the way for European unification."

If Dr. Adenauer seems to be losing some of his support, does the blame lie with the German "neurosis" which Father Reinhold fears is common to all of Germany, or does it lie with the anti-German press in France and America and the cries of vengeance and fear from the West? This unfounded fear that all Germans believe they are supermen who must be the leaders of any European entity does not take into consideration the severe shock therapy which Germany has undergone. Those who are left who continue to suffer from this neurosis are no more numerous than the lunatic fringe of Americans who belong to the Ku Klux Klan or the Communist party.

However, the danger exists that a demagogue might arise who would find followers in Germany. This danger does not stem from a neurosis but from the tragedy of thousands of people expelled or escaped from their homelands, driven to live without homes, without jobs, and without hope in the refugee camps of the West. That very few of these people voted for the promises of the old Nazi elements in the most recent elections last month gives hope that they may still be saved to be brought into the community of normal working citizens. Instead of pessimism and fear, we should be helping these people with faith and opportunities to live as other human beings are living. Those who preach of faith, of freedom, of humanity, must adopt a positive attitude and an active participation in the future of these refugees. If they do not, they will have only themselves to blame if this great number of people turn to a new Nazism or to Communism.

Father Reinhold wrote "Griping and carping don't take these extreme forms unless paranoia has become acute. When paranoid conditions reach a certain stage, reason and moral inhibitions vanish. The symptoms are evident now and we had better take an account of them. . . . We have forgotten to keep Germany reminded of her misdeeds. . . ."

In making the diagnosis of acute paranoia, Father Reinhold seems to have chosen only those symptoms which would uphold the diagnosis. If the patient is not to be endangered, it is necessary that all symptoms and all signs be considered before treatment is prescribed. When this is done it is most likely that rather than treating Germany with constant reminders of her misdeeds, the cure might well be a large dose of aid and faith. The prognosis for a free Germany worthy of joining the union of Western nations will then be much more favorable.

Father Reinhold has seen the ghost of Nazism materializing. He suggests that we ask the Germans if they wish to be delivered to the Russians or to do their part. What he does not mention is the part the Church must play not only in renewing the faith of the German people in Christian principles, but also the need for Christians and Jews everywhere to practice the precepts they teach. He does not mention the symptoms of good which are preponderant in Germany today, nor the need for evidence of appreciation and faith if we are to encourage the patient on the road to moral and spiritual health.

In *Holding the Stirrup* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown) Baroness Elisabeth von Guttenberg states that to root out the poison of Nazism which still remains in the bloodstream of her country, Germany faces "a tremendous battle in the urgent task of re-Christianizing the German people." It would be well for spiritual leaders of today, especially old and trusted friends of Germany, to decide where their real responsibility lies; whether in negating all positive elements and emphasizing the hopelessness and radicalism which exists, or in encouraging the positive elements and helping to rebuild the spiritual faith so sorely needed in Germany today. This is a question for all people of good faith, of whatever faith, everywhere.

MARCIA L. KAHN.

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Loneliness in America

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

WHEN David Riesman, two years ago, called his study of the American character *The Lonely Crowd,* he suggested two American characteristics, one evident, the other less clear: gregariousness and loneliness.

Though we Americans have become lonely in crowds only recently, we have been lonely for a long time. You can see it in the faces of the pioneers, as depicted by Grant Wood. These folk were lonely, I think, because in their continual moving they left so many things behind. Leaving so many things behind, they tended increasingly to keep themselves from being involved in things, from loving them, and were satisfied merely to use them. But to refuse to be involved is almost by definition to be lonely.

The pioneers of the old scattered frontier are gone, and there are crowds now where once there were individuals. But, as Riesman concludes from a number of case studies, the individual in these crowds is still lonely. Others have remarked this without benefit of case studies. Observing people crowding together, not only in work, which in our industrial arrangement was inevitable, but also after work, in play, I wrote in 1945: "Few if any people have lived closer together than we do. Yet, crowded already into war-time cities, we crowd still further into dance-halls, picture-shows, and theaters. These efforts to increase physical proximity are essentially efforts to overcome loneliness. We may not call it loneliness. It probably feels more like uncertainty, restlessness, instability, low specific gravity: a sense that something is happening out there in the crowd that isn't happening here, a feeling of being out of the swim and a longing to get into it."

So we devour the confession magazines and gorge ourselves upon the life of Hollywood. Not only must we sit down beside the others and rub shoulders with them; we must also lift the mask of their lives and probe their innermost secrets. We will permit no reserve, either in them or in ourselves. Reticence has become a lost virtue, "keep your distance" an unuttered warning. By whatever means, distance must be annihilated.

IT is Riesman's conclusion that this "lonely crowd" is composed chiefly of upper-middle-class people living in the great industrial centers; as yet it does not extend very far into the lower, or working-class, nor is it generally important beyond the great urban areas. Yet, analyzing the forces which in his opinion have produced this crowd, Riesman thinks that it will spread and will probably become the dominant group in the country.

I said that these lonely people have to sit down beside the others and learn of them. Riesman has coined a phrase to describe them: the "other-directeds." Each of them, he says, is moved chiefly by the desire to get the approval of the others, particularly of the others who belong to his associates, his "peer-group."

The other-directeds desire to conform. Many observers have noted the growth of conformity within the United States in recent years. I am not concerned here with what has caused this growth; I am concerned with the fact that such people, even in crowds, are lonely, and chiefly with the question: what causes their loneliness?

They are lonely because, for all their mixing with the crowd, they refuse to let themselves become deeply involved, in people, in work, in life in general. They desperately want to be liked, to be approved, as Riesman says, but chiefly for their tastes, for their likes, for what he calls their consumer activities; not for their producer activities, for their work, for their inclusive life. (Work matters less and less in our increasingly automatic machine order.) Somewhat like Ann Gregory, in Yeats' poem of that name, they cry "Love me for myself alone," as if the self ever existed alone, without involvement in other selves and in the world.

And why do they keep themselves from being involved in life? If I should ask "Why don't they stick their necks out?" the reply would come back, "Because they've been stung." Our world isn't a happy place for sticking your neck out.

What causes us to stick our necks out, to become involved? Two things, said Whitehead: the pressure of circumstances and the lure of ideals. Three centuries ago, Europe was crowded and hungry; America was, by all reports, boundless and fertile. Europeans longed for freedom, religious and political; the New World promised to give a man what he had the courage to come and take.

But what lures us on now? There's the rub. There are doubtless enough frontiers left in the world, enough unsolved problems, even enough bright promises for those whose faith remains. Unfortunately, for so many

A one-time teacher, now a farmer and writer, Mr. Dabbs is chairman of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council.

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of us the promises seem threats, and so we hesitate, and play it safe, and refuse to become involved.

According to Riesman, we are living in a novel world, where consumption is becoming more important than production, and where relations to people are taking precedence over relations to things—the relationship of the old productive job. In such a world, he says, "we are forced to pioneer on frontiers of the emotions with insufficient guidance and example."

The trouble is that we who live along these human frontiers, especially the other-directeds, trying to make something out of a novel situation, do not face such frontiers in the positive spirit of the frontiersman. We are not lured beyond ourselves by the blue horizon, we do not dream of "something hid behind the ranges," over the hills and far away. We seem to have lost that sense of distance which Spengler called the mark of Western man. We never risk ourselves far from the home-base; we move cautiously through the crowd, seeking above all that the others should approve us, fearful above all that they may disapprove.

Do we wish, like the other-directeds, to be approved? More than this, do we wish to be attractive? Let us ask, then, what it is that attracts us to others. There is a spiritual law of gravitation as well as a physical. Another person attracts us as we sense the density, the implied inner distances of his life. In illustration of this, Saint-Exupery once wrote: "There is an intensity of being in a Dominican at prayer. . . . In Pasteur, holding his breath over the microscope, there is a density of being." In such moments, both the Dominican and Pasteur imply worlds beyond our world.

And they both exhibit love: on the part of the Dominican the love of God; on the part of Pasteur the love, let us say, of scientific truth. It is this love within them, this probing, outgoing energy, that creates their density, the sense of distance within them, and therefore the attraction they hold for us.

I HAVE perhaps said enough to indicate what is wrong with the lonely crowd; why they are lonely. They lack love. Blame it upon our world, if you wish, whose terrible possibilities constrict our hearts in fear, whereas available frontiers always expand them in anticipation and love. By an available frontier, I mean one that is a challenge, not a threat. Whatever the cause, we face the world with extreme caution, and are therefore lonely.

We think we can overcome our loneliness without going out of ourselves, without involving ourselves in life. We think we can meet others in the shallow waters of likes and dislikes, but all that we meet is likes and dislikes. We do not recognize ourselves, or others, for the far-goers we really are; we do not understand that men meet at last, as Hocking said, only in God.

COMMUNISM

The February, 1953, issue of *Blackfriars,* the English critical monthly review edited by the Dominican Fathers, will be devoted to *COMMUNISM* and will reproduce lectures delivered to a Conference of the Newman International Centre held in London in December. The issue will contain the following contributions:

The Philosophical Background of Communism
by Rev. Fr. D. J. B. Hawkins, D.D., and Very Rev. Fr. Ian Hislop, O.P., Ph.D.

The Economic Aspect of Communism
by H. R. Brech of *The Economist*

The Communist View of Science
by R. H. Richens, M.A.

Communism in Soviet Russia Today
by Sir David Kelly, GCMG, M.C., lately H.M. Ambassador in Moscow

Other contributions by Richard O'Sullivan, Q.C., Douglas Hyde, etc.

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Priest, Pontiff, and Doer of Great Works

THE LIFE OF JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS. By John Tracy Ellis. Two Volumes. Bruce. $17.50.

By SISTER HELEN ANGELA HURLEY

DURING the vigorous period of American life which is treated in these two large volumes, today's art and theory of faith and freedom were in the making. Out of the long persuasion that there ought to be a book, a great task faced the author, Father John Tracy Ellis, head of the department of history at the Catholic University of America. During six years of travel and study he applied himself diligently to preparing these fifteen hundred pages and his publishers have faithfully aided him by providing well printed and attractively bound books. The three thousand five hundred and sixty-four footnotes alone required presswork of staggering proportions. The task, of course, was far more than mere mechanical perfection could compass.

The doings of none of our great churchmen have been so thoroughly recorded as Cardinal Gibbons'. An autobiography, a diary, several biographies, printed collections of clippings and documents, and his voluminous correspondence provide more than enough source material. It may be inevitable that little new material appears in this text or in Father Ellis' essay on his sources. Readers who have been over the same ground may wish there had been greater compression and distillation, more extended consideration of the elusive items and knotty problems; that the *Life* had been written in a livelier style.

We may all feel grateful, however, that Father Ellis' book will henceforth be an indispensable reference. Unquestionably, there is provided an accurate and thoroughgoing story of the long-lived Cardinal, in the unadorned manner that was characteristic of his own speech and writing.

James Gibbons was born in Baltimore in 1834 and died there as Cardinal Archbishop in 1921. His parents in time returned to their native Ireland where James received his early education and formed many enduring friendships. After the death of his father, the family again emigrated to the United States, this time settling in New Orleans, where the studious James divided his time between further schooling and work as a grocer's clerk. Later he studied at the Sulpician Seminary in Baltimore and was ordained for that diocese in 1861.

Father Ellis portrays the life of the young priest and bishop in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia in all its harsh simplicity. The few Catholics were scattered, and living standards were marginal. Nevertheless, the best-selling *Faith of Our Fathers* was written under these unlikely conditions to meet the needs of priests everywhere for a suitable book of instruction. Although the style of Cardinal Gibbons' book has little rhetorical grace, it continues to be a convert-maker without rivals. "It was," according to Father Ellis, "by all odds the most popular work in apologetics ever published by an American Catholic and, by reason of its tremendous circulation and the enlightenment it has brought to so many readers on the teachings of the Catholic Church, it deserves to rank among the most effective apologetic works in Christian history."

When Archbishop Gibbons took his see in Baltimore in 1877 his character was pretty well formed in the way it was to go for over forty years as a Catholic leader. He was judicious, slow to act in disputed matters, ready to receive suggestions from friends and coworkers, anxious to conciliate for the sake of unity. His quiet charm of manner won and held many friends and made few enemies. Sharp criticism by his associates made no appreciable disturbance in his intimacy with them, but revealed an exceptional degree of humility in their leader. Of the end of the Cardinal's days, his biographer can say, "They had come to this wise little man to consult for nearly half a century, and they had invariably found it rewarding. It was a remarkable testimony to his greatness that the Cardinal's leadership of them should have produced not only a profound respect for his judgment, but also a deep and abiding love for the man."

For all our boasted democracy, nothing stirs American Catholics to a sense of belonging like the sight of our ecclesiastical leaders walking and talking with Presidents. Cardinal Gibbons fully satisfied American Catholic feelings in this respect as well as in his less spectacular civic interests. Our understanding of the ordinary side of a great man's life is augmented by entertaining references such as those to the Cardinal's cigar and his euchre and his preference for a boiled egg. Father Ellis uses a few revealing anecdotes to make significant points. "The Cardinal once met a woman at a social gathering . . . [who] made bold to ask him how far he thought the infallibility of the Pope extended . . . 'Madame,' (he replied) 'that is not an easy question. All I can say is that a few months ago in Rome His Holiness called me 'Jibbons.' "

Homely insights are all the more necessary because of the numerous important occasions in the life of the prelate when he appeared to the public only as a personage wearing elaborate vesture. The glorious pages of our religious past were marked by splendid celebrations which stood for the achievement of notable goals. The Third Plenary Council of 1884 raised the Church from its missionary status and gave a large measure of autonomy to the American hierarchy. Its brilliant sessions were directed by Archbishop Gibbons and the long negotiations in Rome before the decrees were approved received his anxious attention.

Elevation to the cardinalate in 1887 was regarded as a recognition of the Church in America as well as of the worthiness of the Archbishop

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of Baltimore. Coming at a time when he had been able to pilot such important matters as the Knights of Labor and the Henry George problems through Vatican channels, it signified that he was the religious guide of the common people. The centennial observance of the establishment of the American episcopate in 1889, accompanied by the opening of the Catholic University and the congress of lay Catholics, demonstrated that the church of the poor had reached a new intellectual level.

More too than a personal tribute to the Cardinal entered into his anniversary triumph in 1893. Acclaim of Leo XIII for embodying the principles expounded in the Knights of Labor controversy in his encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, was coupled with the name of Cardinal Gibbons as a prince of the universal Church. Father Ellis states that "this was the situation as early as 1893 when the Cardinal celebrated the silver jubilee of his episcopacy, and by 1918 the esteem and affection for him as the leader of American Catholicism was so deep and widespread that the completion of his fifty years as a bishop was marked by one of the most extraordinary demonstrations that a churchman has ever received from his associates and admirers."

With full appreciation of the difficulty of a chronological presentation of a life so crowded with overlapping affairs as Cardinal Gibbons', it must still be said that the use of the topical method may be responsible for a good share of the shortcomings in Father Ellis' biography of the Cardinal. It causes so much repetition that, since the index is not serviceable for the purpose, it is well nigh impossible to follow the author's thought completely.

What appears, for example, to be an undue proportion of scolding for Archbishop Ireland may be attributable to an unhappy arrangement, which brings up the same subject again and again as one topic after another is isolated for discussion. A tabulation of sixty-six references to the St. Paul prelate revealed, to be sure, that thirty-three were unfavorable and thirty-three ranged from warm commendation to the not unfavorable. Moreover, a literary device for balance or variety may be liable for the slighting of Archbishop Ireland in the Roman affairs of 1886-7, the pallium ceremony for Archbishop Katzer, and the appointment of the Taft Commission.

Furthermore, the episodic treatment may also account for the impression that Southern thinking is unwarrantably favored. More exceptionable than the author intended perhaps is the statement that "there is no evidence to show what Gibbons' attitude on segregation of the races might have been." A few minor mistakes occur in the local geography and history of the western states, especially in the discussion of Indian affairs. Nevertheless, the store of valuable information here is great and the discriminating reader may glean from the *Life* how we came by the hard core in which our present spiritual and liturgical upsurge is rooted.

Through the study of the stormy yet tenderhearted Bishops Keane, Ireland, O'Connell, Spalding, Elder, Ryan, Kain, Corrigan, McQuaid, Riordan, and the others, friends of Cardinal Gibbons, the reader must see, sometimes in their lapses, that our heritage is the union of charity.

Diplomacy a la Mode

AMBASSADOR'S WIFE. By Elisabetta Cerruti. Macmillan. $3.

By CAROL H. WEISS

EVERYONE who ever sat next to Elisabetta Cerruti at dinner has probably told her that she ought to write a book. As the wife of an Italian ambassador to Peking, Moscow, Buenos Aires, Berlin, and Paris, she has accumulated a tidy repertoire of stories, and as a former actress on the Hungarian stage, she undoubtedly tells them with professional zest. It was probably inevitable that she put them between covers — it's not everyone who has met the Pansham Lama, Litvinov, the Duchess of Windsor, Paderewski, and Edda Ciano — but in the packaging, these little anecdotes lose much of the savor they must have had at the dinner table.

In Peking, the Cerrutis were visited by the deposed Emperor of China, Hsuan Tung, who later became the puppet ruler of Manchukuo. At nineteen, he spoke the worst kind of pidgin English and seemed entirely insignificant. Under the disapproving eyes of his three imposing uncles, the Manchu Princes, he kept stuffing himself with candies. Only when the eldest uncle lifted a warning finger did he put down his plate and sit still.

Moscow in the late twenties was a place of suspicion and severe restrictions, but a commissar could say of a state ballet, "Either one creates propaganda — or a ballet. The two together accomplish nothing." Amusing accidents still happened. There was the Soviet military band sent to greet the arriving French ambassador. At the last minute someone realized that they could not play the *Marseillaise;* that was the anthem of the Mensheviks. In the general confusion an official suggested another French song, and the ambassador arrived to the tune of the *Habanera* from Bizet's "Carmen."

Madame Cerruti was the first member of the diplomatic corps to meet Hitler after he came to power in 1933. On his first social appearance he chose to take her in to dinner. She recounts that on taking his arm, she felt a strong electric shock. Although she detested him almost at once, she become convinced that he could exercise some mystic magnetic power.

In the course of over two years of formal dinners, receptions, and gossip, she acquired some further impressions of the Fuehrer: he held his fork and knife in clenched fists, he talked incessantly and often lapsed into hysterical ranting, he adored new potatoes and butter, his taste in music was very common, he liked women about him for atmosphere but considered all

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of them, including Eva Braun, completely unimportant. One of the best stories in the book is of Hitler's reception by Marshal Hindenburg's family at Neudeck. When it came the turn of Hindenburg's young grandson to shake hands with Hitler, he asked, "When they say 'Heil Hitler,' what do you answer, 'Heil myself'?"

If you're interested in the small talk of international diplomacy — the mutual dislike of Magda Goebbels and Emmy Goering, the one hundred and eight courses served at dinner by a noble Chinese gentleman (the Cerrutis were laid up in bed for five days afterwards), Mussolini's criterion of feminine beauty — *Ambassador's Wife* makes diverting reading. You're not likely to discover new insights or even much new gossip, but Madame Cerruti is too experienced a hostess to let you become bored.

Primitive Arts

AFRICAN FOLKTALES AND SCULPTURE. By Paul Radin and James Johnson Sweeney. Illustrated with 165 photographs. Bollinger Series—Pantheon. $8.50.

By JOHN COURNOS

THE cult of African art, so much in evidence among ultra-moderns, is a phenomenon which has been reasonably attributed to the reaction against civilization and its sophisticated dead-end culture. It is the contention of Paul Radin, who supplies a lengthy and intelligent introduction to the section of this book devoted to the Folktales, that the so-called primitive men of Africa are not so primitive as is commonly conceived; that they have produced a body of myths and tales comparable with those of white peoples. There is something in what he says; none the less there is some exaggeration here too. The literary quality, for example, of most of these tales lacks artistic finesse and skill; and the cosmology is definitely inferior, often puerile, when not downright paltry.

But they do contain, for all that, a deal of knowledge of human nature, which is perhaps everywhere the same, and the morals of these tales are, in consequence, very much akin to those recorded in other early literatures. The stories, to be sure, are a little brutal, for all their core of realistic truth and common sense. Look, for instance, at the fable, "How a Hunter Obtained Money from His Friends, the Leopard, the Goat, the Bush Cat, and the Cock, and How He Got Out of Repaying Them," the moral of which is, "Never lend money to people, because if they cannot pay they will try to get rid of you in some way. . . ."

This large volume is magnificently produced, and for inclusion in it Mr. Sweeney has chosen one hundred and sixty-five examples of African sculptural art to illustrate a discriminating, well-informed text. These range from superb, almost classical, specimens to solemn, if absurd, caricatures; it is to the latter that so many surrealists have apparently gone for their inspiration.

The Road Back from Defeat

ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH: 1877-1913. By C. Vann Woodward. Louisiana State University Press. $6.50

By WAYNE ANDREWS

IF you happen to be one of those Northerners who refer to the South as "a problem," and never stop to think that the North might be pretty much of a problem itself, you will be puzzled rather than pleased by the writings of C. Vann Woodward, the Johns Hopkins professor who has been digging deeper and deeper in recent years beneath the surface of the post-bellum South. On the other hand, if you are one of those Southerners who look forward to "an impartial history of the War written from the Southern point of view," you will see no good reason for Arkansas to be proud of this native son, and you may even set Woodward down in the same category with Percival Drayton, the Charlestonian who greeted the firing on Fort Sumter by sticking to his post in the U. S. Navy.

All this should make it quite clear that Professor Woodward is one of those rare historians who make it their business to disturb the minds of their readers. The biographer of Tom Watson, the once valiant Georgia populist who came to an inglorious reactionary end in the U. S. Senate, Woodward has also re-examined the election of 1876 in *Reunion and Reaction*. But his most troubling contribution to date is the *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913*, and anyone who thinks that this is just another reference book for serious graduate students is in for a surprise.

Though the "Origins" was issued by the Louisiana State University Press as Volume IX of its scholarly "History of the South," the author's findings are so exciting, and his approach is so unconventional, that it would be a shame if scholars were the only ones to mull over his conclusions.

Like most brilliant books, the *Origins* can't be described as one of those impartial texts whose dignity would be offended if an irreverent hand lifted it out of the reserve shelf, and you don't have to be a profound student of the populist movement to realize that the author is something of an old time agrarian radical himself. As you might imagine, the biographer of Tom Watson can't pass over the populist program of 1892 without remembering that more than one plank—do we need to mention the farmers' demand for a flexible currency system, a graduated income tax, a sub-treasury scheme for government loans on crops, and the direct election of Senators,—was incorporated into law before Woodrow Wilson left the White House. So you shouldn't be surprised if Woodward fails to be impressed by the achievements of these Whig-minded Democrats, disciples all of them of Henry Clay, who passed too easily for heroes in the generation following the disappearance of the Scalawags of Reconstruction. Nor should you be amazed to discover that he gaily

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explodes one Northern misconception after another of Southern attitudes on such topics as the rise of industry, Negro rights, the challenge of labor unions, and the limiting of the franchise.

Since most Southerners have been taught to believe that the Redeemers —the business-minded statesmen who came to power once Hayes' election was certified—were for the most part high-minded men, not a few Southern readers may grow indignant at Woodward's revelation of the corruption that marked so many State Governments during the Age of Redemption. Yet the author is sure of his facts, and when he points out that "it was a poor subsidiary of an Eastern railroad that could not find some impoverished brigadier general to lend his name to a letterhead," he has only begun to tell the horrid story of the bosses of Georgia in this period, one of whom, Senator Joseph E. Brown, was enabled to run his coal mines with convict labor leased from the State at seven cents a day.

Since Woodward is so critical of the Redeemers, it's no wonder he isn't exactly an admirer of Henry Grady, the Atlanta editor who "helped see to it that Georgia was governed by the new industrialists." Not one to object either to industry or industrialists as such, the author wonders whether it was wise to encourage big business at the price of needed social reforms, and he likes to think that the industrialization of the South in this period perpetuated a certain subservience. After all, the estimated per capita wealth of the United States in 1900 was $1,165, and that of the South, merely $509. "Cut off from the better-paying jobs and the higher opportunities, the great majority of Southerners were confined to the worn grooves of a tributary economy. Some emigrated to other sections, but the mass of them stuck to farming, mining, forestry, or some low-wage industry, whether they liked it or not. The inevitable result was further intensification of the old problems of worn-out soil, cut-over timber lands, and worked-out mines."

As a sympathizer of the populists, Woodward can't help reminding us that "the bolder among them challenged the cult of racism with the doctrine of common action among farmers and workers of both races. The very existence of the third party was, of course, a challenge to the one-party system, as well as to white solidarity." At the same time he admits that "the barriers of racial discrimination mounted in direct ratio with the tide of political democracy among whites. In fact, an increase of Jim Crow laws upon the statute books of a State is almost an accurate index of the decline of the reactionary regimes of the Redeemers and triumph of white democratic movements."

And he pays a well-deserved compliment to the conservatives when he regretfully confesses that "there were South Carolinans who did not share the Charleston *News and Courier's* feeling that it was 'a great deal pleasanter to travel with respectable and well-behaved colored people than with unmannerly and ruffianly white men.' "

Meantime the Negroes were all but forgotten by Northern liberals. Godkin of the *Nation,* Woodward recalls, could not see how the Negro could ever "be worked into a system of government for which you and I would have much respect." These were the days when Booker T. Washington, "identifying his race with the industrial hopes of the region, asked consideration for those who 'without strikes and labor wars' had built up the South's industries."

But perhaps the most disconcerting of all Woodward's chapters deals with the limiting of the franchise in the years from 1890 onward. The many Northerners who have been led to believe that this was all an unholy plot to keep the Negro in his place will be somewhat startled to hear that the whites as well were kept from the polls. "The real question," the author declares, "was *which whites* should be supreme." He cites the sad evidence from Virginia, whose voters numbered 264,240 in 1900, but only 130,544 in 1904, after a constitutional convention had done its work.

For all these complex problems there are no easy answers, and

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Woodward is far too modest to offer any solutions of his own, realizing that the best social scientist is only an observer. Fortunately for all of us, he has been observing something else than "the beautiful, the attaching oddity of the general Southern state of mind" which so perplexed Henry James. Perhaps his readers may decide that the South, which has had its struggles and its heroes, is not so odd after all.

Woman

THE SECOND SEX. By Simone de Beauvoir. Translated and Edited by H. M. Parshley. Knopf. $10.

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

MR. KNOPF announced that this relatively monumental volume of more than seven hundred pages is printed in Electra, a type-face designed by W. A. Dwiggins "to be read, and not seen." I am not sure that this is a symbolic gesture, but at any rate something of the same sort appears to be Madame de Beauvoir's notion of how man ought to reconstruct his relationship with women. Because there is no genuine fraternity between the sexes, because woman has so profoundly and long been man's creature, the major social ills of history (she argues) perpetuate themselves. These ills are very frankly discussed. There is little that psychiatry, the police blotter, the diary, the memoir and the moralist have reported on the subject of woman which does not somehow find its way into Mme. de Beauvoir's book.

Unquestionably a great many people will find such a report by a French woman who professes to write from an "existentialist" point of view quite shocking, and in some respects they will be right. For Mme. de Beauvoir assumes that the distress which is in our human selves by reason of an abiding conflict between body and spirit can be alleviated by a voluntary assumption of "comradeship" between the sexes.

I find nothing in daily experience which indicates that this assumption is incorrect when those who are par-

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ties to it really mean what they say. It was quite possible for a woman as intellectual and feminine as Mary Beard to establish a wholly admirable and in the best sense edifying comradeship with a man as thoroughly masculine and individualistic as Charles Beard. The trouble is, how shall we induce the majority of men and women to dream about doing something comparable? And even if they did, how probable would their success be?

On the other hand, moralists too often talk on the theme of sex as if they had forgotten all about St. Thomas and the maxim that grace builds on nature. One can, indeed, start out by saying with Patmore that human affection is the analogy through which one can approach to an understanding of God's love for His creatures. Very well. But it should be borne in mind that the *Stueck Erde* (the chunk of soil) that must exist even in spiritually conscious matrimony is the hardest thing in the world to fit into such an analogical approach. Some people succeed, but the great majority do not. As a matter of fact, we must admit if we are honest that they do not try.

Perhaps it would help a little if one examined the chunk more carefully with them. That is already being done. The education of women, in convent schools and elsewhere, has taken the wrapping paper off many of the facts of life. We need only to bear in mind that the paper got there in the first place for a reason. Our ancestors had concluded that the facts when left to themselves were not wholly innocuous. To a certain extent at least they were right. The salutary antidote to excessive modesty is not strutting the boardwalk in a string.

All this Mme. de Beauvoir, who discusses everything from prostitution to the menopause, realizes very well. But she knows or cares nothing about the life of religion, which is a pity. It may be that Katherine Ann Porter does not either. But I am inclined to think that the two short pieces on love and marriage which are included in that remarkable collection of Miss Porter's scattered essays which is entitled *The Days Before* say everything that is humanly important on the subject. If you were to ask me for my opinion (which you quite justifiably probably will not) I should say that if you were to read them carefully you would get everything which is really essential in Mme. de Beauvoir's book, plus a little more—which I can only term the insight of a truly great artist.

REVIEWERS

Sister Helen Angela Hurley is the author of *On Good Ground: The Story of the Sisters of St. Joseph in St. Paul.*

Carol Weiss contributes regularly to The Commonweal.

John Cournos is a well-known anthologist and critic.

Wayne Andrews, a student of Americana, is the author of *The Vanderbilt Legend* and *Battle for Chicago.*

George N. Shuster is president of Hunter College in New York City.

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'52 and '53

ONE GOOD WAY to take in the nature and range of The Commonweal at a glance is to run over the following calendar of certain of last year's high spots.

January: The debate between William V. Buckley and Donald McDonald on the national political prospect and Harold C. Hinton's "The Case of John Stewart Service."

February: Julie Bedier's "World Hunger and Sister Elizabeth Ann," and Sam Hynes' "The Catholicism of James Joyce."

March: The series of four articles by Victor White, O.P., on such modern prophets as Freud, Jung, Sir James Frazer and Karl Marx.

April: The debate on Our Far East policy between Harold C. Hinton and Freda Utley, and "Salvation in the Novels," by John W. Simons.

May: Compton Mackenzie's "Three Score and Ten," and Charles Malik's "Manifesto for the West."

June: "The McCarran Immigration Bill," by John O'Grady and "Disarmament Is the Goal," by Benjamin V. Cohen.

July: "The Liberal Catholic," by William P. Clancy and "Bevan and Bevanism," by Geoffrey Ashe.

August: Christopher Dawson on "A New Christian Society," and Waldemar Gurian on the Revival of Germany.

September: "Our Choice for President," a statement by the Editors that was more widely reprinted than anything ever published in the magazine.

October: "Memoirs of Santayana," by Richard Butler, O.P., some unpublished letters from Santayana himself, and a debate on Joe McCarthy between Edward J. Heffron and James O'Gara.

November: Barbara Ward's "Age of Confusion," and Will Herberg's "Religion and State in Israel."

December: "The Common Good" by Bishop John J. Wright and "Catholics in Hollywood," by Walter Kerr.

This is the sort of material that will appear in The Commonweal during 1953. Send for a trial subscription.

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